The Commonweal

WEEK BY WEEK

Long-sought Formula

AFTER five years of rushing to the defenses now in this sector of the world, now in that, it is high time the United States formulated an over-all foreign program. The outlines of the game are clear. One potentially solid American-Allies formation is in the making in Western Europe. Yet even there, doubts persist as to the wholeheartedness of the adhesion of the other Atlantic peoples to the leadership of the United States. Current reports of preferences for European neutrality are too numerous.

Outside the lanes of cut-throat competition an atmosphere of live and let-live is fairly prevalent in this prosperous country. The determination to check Soviet Russia at every aggressive turn has been arrived at painfully and slowly. And even to this day, when Americans realize what they are up against, Russia retains the initiative.

Since the United States is so well-fixed as things are and has no expansive ambitions, our policy is necessarily defensive. That is one difficulty in finding a formula which would harmonize with the aspirations of the hard-pressed peoples of the East and West. C. L. Sulzberger of the New York *Times,* after an extensive tour of the Soviet periphery from Finland to Japan, has arrived at one such over-all concept. Friends of America told him, in the course of his long journey, that the United States should announce to the world that what we are determined to oppose is not so much Communism as imperialism. That is a stand which they state emphatically would appeal to them.

With this as a starting point, a policy might be outlined which would apply in all areas and all circumstances and attract the free peoples of the world. Support of Bao Dai, for instance, would then make sense as an opposition to the greater imperialism. Until the UN develops teeth, or is supplanted by a more effective world organization, the United States could then serve explicitly as the rallying point for all nations, East and West, who have reason for feeling that their independence is threatened by an aggressor.

Other programs already projected or under way—such as Point IV technical aid—would gain influence because of a declaration of this sort. Enunciation of unrelenting opposition to imperialism—and of steps to thwart it—would be a means of making clear what actually divides the free world from the dominions of the USSR.

Such a declaration would have the further advantage of giving the lie to charges that we are seeking to impose either our capitalistic form of enterprise or our parliamentary form of democracy anywhere.

Perhaps more than anything else, however, it envisages something which is an immediate stopgap. In conjunction with continued Marshall Aid, the new Point IV program and the projected Atlantic military measures (especially in view of our latest atomic defensive weapons), a clear-cut anti-imperialism declaration would help hold the fort until the other nations have built up their individual and joint economies and military defenses. If we succeed in preserving enough of a free world now, there is some chance for the eventual formation of an international organization that can effectively preserve peace and justice.

THAT is a lot to hang on a formula which appears to differ only slightly from such previous declarations as the Acheson concept of leaving to the native peoples of the East the working out of their own respective destinies. The object is the same. But the reiterated possibility of active American intervention to stem further aggression puts explicit anti-imperialism of this sort on an entirely different plane from disinterested "hands off" sentiments. In that sense it would signalize our embarking on a positive foreign policy.

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• NEXT WEEK •

CLARE E. WOLF writes of changes that are taking place in American farming. He is one farmer who welcomes the changes. They are, he says, building a way of life that will make men free again.

"My neighbor has quit raising cotton. He raised his last crop in 1949 although he jokingly says he raised his last cotton in '48 because the weevils got it all last year. At that, he wasn't easily discouraged. Nearly everyone else stopped raising the stuff several yars ago."

Exporting Hope

FIFTY thousand men and women, by a reasonable estimate, are passing from Eastern Germany into the Western zones every month. Six or seven thousand others from the nations of the Communist East are monthly entering what the Voice of America tells them is the West of freedom and opportunity.

These people arrive in Western Europe and are finding themselves in the terrifying modern predicament of being legally unprovided for. They are not displaced persons, as that term has been defined. Those 300,000 victims of the last —hot— war, who have endured excruciating years of waiting in German camps, have been granted a liberalized DP bill that at this writing is being made into law.

The refugees now fleeing from the East cannot come to the United States under the new bill because they arrive in the West after the deadline date that unhappily was written into the bill. They cannot ask the International Refugee Organization for help, for there too they are "post-deadline cases."

The IRO can offer them only legal recognition. The refugees must find their own sustenance, and in unemployment-heavy Western Germany that actually means, in the words of the IRO report, that "refugees remain destitute."

Their hope broken, some hundreds are drifting back to their Eastern homes, and their witness makes the radio voice of freedom that inspired their escape now seem grotesque; barbarous humor. The massed transmitters can be multiplied endlessly without answering their question.

These people could be given such special legislative attention as Congress gave to the Arab refugees in the Near East. They could be assisted by the IRO if its participating countries would grant funds and authorization. But the IRO goes out of existence in a year. Both these solutions would be temporary. What is needed is a coordinated program on the part of the Western countries to absorb these political refugees. The Atlantic Pact countries would do well to consider such a program a compelling tactical need. Above tactics, it is a matter that involves the vitalizing of one of those basic principles which Western statesmen are given to enumerating in their speeches—here, the principle of political asylum. Hope is all that the Western nations can send to the people of the Communist-dominated East, and hope, refugees tell us—hope is a fragile thing.

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A Milestone

OF THE three segregation cases decided by the Supreme Court, June 5, the two dealing with state university graduate schools in Texas and Oklahoma are the more significant. For the Court cited the equal protection clause of the Constitution as the basis for those two unanimous decisions. Moreover, the disabilities placed upon the American Negro by restricting his educational opportunities have much greater effects than other galling discriminations which he suffers.

The Court attacked the two states on their own espoused principle of "separate but equal" facilities—which goes back to a Court decision of 1896. Only now this equality must be real! Can a southern state today actually provide parallel facilities for professional education which are equal in every way? Even if the state could afford it? Such ingredients as physical facilities, faculty, libraries, fellow-students are involved.

If the Supreme Court had held that racial discrimination in state educational institutions was *per se* unlawful, the decision would have been infinitely more clear-cut. A certain comparison and a certain proof are still required. Test cases involve both time and expense. Yet the Court has set a tremendous precedent; these decisions will long be considered historic. For, legally, equality of educational opportunity can no longer be but a paper equality. These unanimous decisions will be ever at hand to support claims of other American citizens for their due. Regional apathy, traditions and hostility will persist, but the way is now open. And those white students and educational institutions which voluntarily welcome Negroes into their midst will be building better than they know.

Sitting It Out

FROM seven South Asian countries (Australia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand) delegates representing about a quarter of the earth's population traveled, a few days ago, to a conference in the Philippine mountain city of Baguio. They met to weigh the chances they have of salvaging their independence, as the big powers, East and West, keep bearing down on them, bidding for their allegiance in the world conflict and getting involved in the hot and bloody jungle wars.

Since the delegates got together on their own initiative to speak their own minds, what they said was, to the world at large, a good sign of the way the wind is blowing in South Asia. Principally, they took a steady and studious look at the Communist advance and, after deciding that Communism was an internal matter for each country to handle by stepping up its own social reform, the delegates crept away silently from the East-West fight, took no sides at all and tried their best to think of themselves as sitting this one out.

As it happened, the silence of the conferees spoke louder than their words. Unable to believe for sure that the West is containing world Communism, or that the West is really with them in their intense and rightful desire for national independence, the South Asians, forced out on a limb geographically by the Communist advance on their borders, could not be certain that the West would be there to catch them, should they, from their shaky perch, talk up to the Communists.

The reaction to this, from some quarters here, is to wag a finger at the Asiatic delegates, warning them that Communism, far from being a local thunder shower, is a global storm with no more dry, neutral spots to fly to for shelter. This, undoubtedly, is not news to the South Asian statesmen, whose countries have always been more or less public domain, rain or shine, but again, what can they do?

The generally accepted answer to that question is that the anti-Communist forces in Asia, however desperate their position, should band together before they fall victim to the old totalitarian tactic of divide and conquer. The State Department, on record as hoping that the Asiatics would get together by themselves without the suspicion of being prodded by Western imperialists, must have been keenly disappointed in the outcome of the Baguio conference. For now, clearly, unless something is done, the West is likely to be pushed farther out on the same limb with the South Asians.

Ever since the fall of China, the suspicion grows that the West is through in Asia because it has lost the trust of the Asiatic people. With no Atlantic Charter in the Pacific to set the record straight on the right of every nation to its own independence, we have not yet given the Asiatics what they want from us more than dollars and guns, namely, a clear declaration that we are morally determined and able to speak for the free man against the slave. Theirs is a frightening suspicion of us because, more than a shortage of money ever could, a shortage of faith in us demoralizes their will to be free.

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Clearing the Air

THIS magazine, we feel, is fortunate this week in having two such able representatives as James Loeb, Jr. and John C. Cort to discuss the question of Liberals and Catholics. It is typical of both writers that they have fortified their arguments with a spirit of tolerance and an elusive element that from this corner looks very much like Christian charity. One feels compelled to voice the wish that all liberals were as catholic-minded as James Loeb and all Catholics as liberal as John Cort.

Because the discussion is going so well when the last line is read at least one editor is tempted to kibitz—to emphasize a point that neither writer accents but which often seems to be the focal point of Catholic-Liberal misunderstandings and antagonisms.

Put bluntly, it is this: American liberalism, at least the way it is sometimes manifested, often seems to Catholics to be a rival religion and hence thoroughly unacceptable. In the same way, Catholicism, to many liberals, is often seen as a rival political force.

As long as pure economics or pure politics provide the meeting-ground for Catholics and liberals there is no conflict, as is shown by the voting record of Catholic Congressmen and the large Catholic representation in the progressive labor unions. But economics and politics are not often found in a pure state. Democracy is not implemented under laboratory conditions but in the real world of concrete issues. Religion—to the Catholic the ultimate reality—makes its demands in all areas of living; the same is true of dynamic secularism, which to many liberals is the chief philosophical yardstick, equivalent to the part religion plays in the life of a Catholic. When that happens conflict between Catholics and liberals is inevitable.

To most liberals—and to Catholics too—Eleanor Roosevelt, to cite the case of one famous person, is moved by the same liberal thought when she plugs for an FEPC as when she sponsors a birth-control movement. In the one case the Catholic can—and should—get right behind her; in the other, he would betray himself and his honest belief were he to do so. Similarly, the same Catholic belief might move John Cort to organize workers one day and to condemn euthanasia as murder the next. But only in the former case would he have general liberal support.

American liberalism is deeply infected with the germ of positivism. Catholics can never accept a wholly pragmatic approach to the practical issues of the day. Catholicism upholds the claims of an immutable natural law (which, among other things, is the basis for the opposition to birth control) and an objective code of morals. Here, right at the rock bottom, is a basis for conflict. Some of the principles upon which the two philosophies are built are forever irreconcilable.

But as both our writers agree, Catholics and liberals need each other, and the nation needs the contribution that each can make. The question is what to do about it.

WELL, it is no solution when some Catholics ignore points of agreement, which are many, when they refuse to work with their liberal fellow-citizens and consign everything branded as "liberal"—from equal rights to birth-control legislation—to the same rejected secularist heap. And it is no solution when Catholic reaction to liberalism is mainly concocted of narrow sectarianism, bigotry and the firmly closed mind. Nor is it a solution when certain Catholics, in their fury against secularism, viciously turn on persons who honestly, however tragically, purvey that secularism in the belief that they are serving their fellow man.

Again it is no solution when some very articulate liberals speak as if the Church would be all right only if it confined itself to the mere sacristy function Hitler wanted it to play. To ask the Church to keep silence when what it considers to be evil (for everybody, not just Catholics) is being debated in the halls of Congress, is not much different from asking the Church to hold its tongue when Nuremberg laws are passed. It is to belittle the role that the Pastor Niemoellers play in the political life of society. And it is no solution when liberals impute unworthy motives, create an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust where the Church is concerned and cavalierly reduce the profundity of Catholic thought to the narrow conceits of a small-minded sect.

In so far as they are irreconcilable, there is of course no solution to the differences between liberalism and Catholicism. But until all liberals become Catholics—an unlooked-for miracle—the two are going to have to exist side by side in American life. The trick is to create an atmosphere in which they can both breathe freely and meet freely in happy agreement or open debate. If this exchange between Cort and Loeb helps to clear the air for healthier relations, then both writers have served well the truth they live by.

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FROM A NON-CATHOLIC VIEWPOINT:

Liberals and Catholics

Both owe it to themselves to find common ground.

By JAMES LOEB, JR.

IF ALL Catholics in the United States abstained from a presidential or Congressional election, the result would undoubtedly be a swing further to the right than we have known in this country for generations. Similarly if all Congressional Catholics went on strike for a full session, the result would make the 80th Congress seem by comparison a high mark of liberalism.

While these facts imply a tribute to the progressivism of Catholics in general, it does not necessarily follow that Catholics are liberal because they are Catholics. Without having available the figures to prove it, I should assume that a disproportionate number of Catholics live in the large urban communities. It is certainly true that Catholics represent a greater proportion of organized workers than they do of the population as a whole. Catholics tend to be liberal politically, therefore, because of geography and because of their social and economic status.

But if it cannot be said that Catholics are liberal because of their religion, it is even less accurate or just to charge Catholics with being conservative politically, whether because of their religion or for other reasons. It is relevant to point out that the chief centers of anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States are the most reactionary sections: the South and the rural areas, or perhaps more accurately the small towns.

In the light of these facts, what interest or justification can there be for even raising the issue of "liberals and Catholics"? Why are there active, non-Communist liberals who continue to insist that the very terms "Catholic" and "liberal" are self-contradictory? It is too easy, and in the long run dangerous, just to write such people off as bigots and irresponsibles. They constitute an influential segment of the American community and, unless their arguments are probed and answered, disastrous divisions may, under the stress of circumstances, jeopardize the whole fabric of our American democracy.

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Let's face it: the problem is far more complicated than would appear from a statistical analysis of Congressional voting records. Take an extreme and very controversial example, a comparison of the records of the present and former chairmen of the House Labor Committee. According to ADA's published record on the first session of the present Congress, the late Representative Lesinski had a perfect voting record, except for two absences, on thirteen significant issues. On the other hand, his successor, Representative Barden, voted with the reactionaries on labor relations issues, against public housing, against a "trial run" for the Brannan Plan, in favor of the House version of the Kerr Bill on natural gas, and against extension of coverage in the Minimum Wage Act.

Yet Lesinski, a Polish Catholic, could hardly be classified as a liberal under any definition of that much abused term. His speeches on displaced persons legislation had all the earmarks of anti-Semitism and while his voting record on civil rights was good, his personal convictions, reflecting one of the most bitterly anti-Negro communities in the country, were anything but progressive. And Mr. Barden, with his conservative voting record, became a hero to many liberals who took the extreme position on the education question.

The fact of the matter is that the differences between Catholic and non-Catholic liberals occur, here as in Europe, on a very limited set of issues, and these issues rarely if ever include basic economic problems such as those on which Mr. Barden registered his conservative votes in the last session. These differences, few as they be in number, tend to arouse intense passions on both sides.

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BEFORE commenting on the doubts and questions which non-Catholic liberals have with regard to Catholic liberalism, it should be stated, bluntly if briefly, that Catholics can find ample justification for doubting and questioning the genuine quality of much of the liberalism that has been current in this country over the past decades. There tends to be, as Father George Higgins accurately pointed out in THE COMMONWEAL of January 13, a kind of doctrinaire and inflexible quality in the liberalism even of those who have long since abjured the socialist or

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Marxist dogmas of the 1920's and the early 1930's. This quality is reflected in an intellectual arrogance which is the mark of the superficial intellect, without the tempering and humane note of humility.

It is still true that one of the most serious handicaps many liberals face is the persistence of clichés and slogans which have far outlived whatever usefulness or validity they may once have had. The infallibility, not of the Pope but of organized labor, is one of those clichés. Another is the belief that any problem can be solved by turning it over to the government. Still another, with many so-called liberals, has to do with the political role of the Catholic Church.

Furthermore, Catholics can hardly be blamed for distrusting the genuineness of liberals who for so long spoke and wrote eloquently of freedom and human dignity, while condoning the "clear and present" denial of liberty in the Soviet Union and the various Communist Parties. The disillusionment on the left came hard, and was long in coming.

Finally, there is the problem of the double standard of political morality. Non-Communist liberals are vehement in their attacks on fellow-travelers for justifying events in Poland and Czechoslovakia by pointing to the county unit system in Georgia, and rightly insist that the genuine progressive must apply a single standard in both instances. But at the same time these same liberals all too often become righteously indignant at the very suggestion that a single penny of public funds be used for transportation to parochial schools, while overlooking or excusing the absolute identity of church and education in the new state of Israel.

These are among the questions that Catholics can and do ask of the non-Catholic liberal community. But there are equally valid questions that can be asked on the other side. Most of them revolve around the basic fear of what is called the monolithic aspect of the Church in political questions.

It is not enough to point to the obvious differences of political opinion among Catholics on many issues. Most national, state or local elections would offer examples of such differences, or the present battle between Senator McCarthy and one of his most bitter opponents, Senator McMahon. This is too easy. There remain a number of issues on which there is a definite Catholic opinion, where the dissenting Catholic is noteworthy as a dissenter. If it is argued that this is equally true of all other groups in our heterogeneous society, it can only be suggested that frequently Catholic opinion seems more disciplined, and more closely related to religious problems than to social, economic or even ethnic questions.

Generally there are three types of issues on which Catholic opinion seems most disciplined, and we may illustrate them by three of the most controversial problems involved in the whole question of "liberals and Catholics."

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THE first type is that in which no matter of religious doctrine is involved, but rather, in the opinion of Catholics, the welfare of the Catholic community. Here the example is the educational issue, at least as it arises in the United States. There is no movement among non-Catholics to outlaw parochial schools, nor do Catholics object to the existence of the public school system. The Catholic view, as I understand it, is based on the desire to defend what Catholics sincerely believe to be the rights of their children in the matter of federal funds appropriated for the non-educational aspects of the nation's schools. Whatever the merits of the question, it cannot be denied that the Church as such has actively intervened in this controversy.

Because, in its American application, the education problem has nothing to do with Church doctrine, it seems to me that it is subject to legitimate compromise. The fear of the non-Catholic liberals is that federal funds for transportation constitute only the first step in a major effort to secure federal funds for other aspects of the parochial school system. As a basis of this fear, the non-Catholics point to the bitter battles that still take place in Europe on the whole problem of government support for Church schools.

If this fear could be exorcised the issue might be compromised to the satisfaction of all but the extremists on both sides. This might be accomplished if the highest authorities in the American Church would state specifically what they are seeking, and indicate that they would join in opposition to any further use of federal funds for non-public schools.

The second type of issue is that in which neither Church doctrine nor the welfare of the Catholic community is in any way affected, but only the sensitivities of Catholics. Here the controversial example is Spain. Some weeks ago I was discussing the Spanish problem with a Congressional friend. I happened to mention that a particular Congressman, among the most liberal in the House on all economic matters, had given clear indications of being pro-Franco. My friend's comment was, "Of course, he's pro-Franco. He has to be, because he's a Catholic."

Readers of THE COMMONWEAL, of course, know the complete inaccuracy of this remark since this magazine has been consistently and courageously anti-Franco. They know too that such outstanding Catholic leaders in Europe as Premier Bidault of France and Prime Minister de Gasperi of Italy are anti-Franco. But it is still a fact

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that the opinion expressed by my Congressional friend is the generally accepted view in America. I believe it is no insult to THE COMMONWEAL, rather a compliment, to suggest that no high-ranking members of the Catholic Church in this country have pronounced themselves as opponents of the Franco Government, although they have not been reluctant to state their views of other totalitarian governments. Here the question of the double standard enters the argument in another form.

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AMONG my necessarily limited acquaintance with Catholic priests I know a number who agree with my own view of the Spanish question. But Catholic support for Franco is still an accepted axiom of American politics. Indeed, if that were not so, the Congressional opposition to Franco would be both stronger and more vocal. High officers of our State Department have privately admitted that the Department's recent weakness on Spain is due largely to a desire to avoid religious division on the matter.

This type of foreign policy issue, although it is cause for justifiable concern to non-Catholic liberals, should also be susceptible to compromise, especially in view of the enormous threat which Communist totalitarianism represents for non-Catholic and Catholic liberals alike. On the one hand, it would be well for the partisans of Spanish democracy to admit frankly that there were anti-Catholic atrocities during the Spanish war which cannot be condoned, whatever their causes. Nor should we hesitate to admit that, because of the United States' embargo against Republican Spain, the "non-intervention" policy of France and Britain, and the inevitable dependence of the Spanish Republican Government on Soviet assistance, the strength of the Communists in that government at several stages of the Civil War was out of all proportion to their political strength.

On the other hand, our Catholic friends should have no greater hesitation in admitting that the political role of the Church in Spain was a reactionary one, and that the present Spanish Government is totalitarian, the one surviving member of the Axis, and consequently a symbol of reaction to millions of people throughout the world. Its elimination would seem to be an end which should be actively sought by all democrats, both Catholic and non-Catholic. Perhaps we could agree with the conclusion reached by Father Cary-Elwes as published in the London *Spectator* of last October 7: "If we help Franco we support a dictator and so increase the chance of Communism after him."

The third type of issue which divides non-Catholic liberals from their Catholic friends is that in which Catholic doctrine itself is involved. Naturally, this is the most difficult kind of issue to resolve or compromise, if resolution or compromise is even possible. I confess a complete inability to discuss this problem adequately because of lack of knowledge of Catholic doctrine. But the example that comes immediately to mind is the question of birth control.

Few non-Catholics could possibly have serious objection to any restrictions which the Catholic Church might see fit to impose on its members, whether for doctrinal or other reasons. But the controversy over the question of birth control, whatever the merits of the practice itself, has to do, in the eyes of non-Catholics, with their right to learn medically sound methods of birth control and legally to purchase contraceptives.

There is no need to emphasize the extent to which political passions can be, and have been, aroused on this problem. A distinguished Massachusetts liberal, who was once a vice-chairman of the Democratic Party in the state, was prevented from joining President Truman's party on a Boston platform during the 1948 campaign because he had once sponsored the Planned Parenthood Association. Similar examples are legion.

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CLEARLY the non-Catholic liberal not only objects, but can find no way to reconcile this position with any definition of liberalism. It may well be that there is no compromise possible on this type of issue. I should certainly not be so presumptuous as to try to suggest one. But at least it would seem wise to seek to narrow these irreconcilable differences to the irreducible minimum. If all or most of our other differences could be worked out, then perhaps we could agree to disagree on those that remained.

In the United States, where men and women of all faiths and all races have been privileged to join in building a democratic society which, however imperfect, has within it the capacity for growth, we owe it to ourselves and to our country to make the determination that such differences as may continue to exist between Catholic and non-Catholic liberals shall not deter us from our common and our very positive purpose: the defense and extension of security within the framework of freedom. Surely we can agree on the hope so magnificently expressed by a non-Catholic liberal, Senator Frank Graham:

"May our America be a place where democracy is achieved without vulgarity, difference without hate, where the majority is without tyranny and the minority without fear, where the least of these, our brethren, have the freedom to struggle for freedom, where respect for the past is not reaction and the hope of the future not revolution. America, where all people have hope. This is America."

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FROM A CATHOLIC VIEWPOINT:

Catholics and Liberals

We have no choice but to be liberal —in the true meaning of the word.

By JOHN C. CORT

WHEN you use the words "Catholics and Liberals" you imply that there is a wall of separation between them, like that wall of separation between church and state that has stood as a sign of contradiction between us here in America.

The words imply that Catholics cannot be liberals and liberals cannot be Catholics. Is that true?

In Europe the term "liberal" has different meanings from the one commonly accepted in this country. It can mean a man devoted to the doctrines of Adam Smith and the Manchester school of economics. This was the man that Herbert Hoover meant when he said the other day that "once upon a time, say for about sixty years, the members of both of our political parties were, in large majority, liberals in the 19th century sense."

Logically, a Catholic cannot be a liberal in that sense. Many of them have been and still are. But after all the bitter things that our popes and bishops have said about economic liberalism, it is difficult to see how such Catholics can reconcile it with their faith.

In Europe, and Latin-American countries as well, the word "liberal" also carries with it a strong anti-clerical odor. Liberals are people who have cast off all moral and religious discipline except what they may find in their own hearts. They elevate freedom to the highest place in the temple of values. They are not always logical about it. They admit that freedom unalloyed does not work in economic life nor in political life nor in international life. But in intellectual, moral and religious life they will yield no place to any kind of authority.

The anti-clericalism of the European liberals was, of course, compounded and intensified by the tragic error of many bishops and priests in allowing themselves to get entangled with the dying institution of monarchy and then, later, with the dying institution of capitalism. Even though the Church itself had spotlighted the abuses of both.

Here in America, in the good old USA, we don't mess around with this kind of ideological hair-splitting, partly because we haven't, thank God, known the problems that gave rise to it. We are even more practical than the practical British. It is our weakness and our strength. "By their fruits shall ye know them" is the standard we use. Is a man concerned about the poor and the oppressed? Is he pro-labor without being blind to the ills that labor leaders are also heir to? Is he willing to consider Jews and Negroes as human beings with the same rights as Irish Catholics and proper white Bostonians? Does he support legislation designed to benefit the underprivileged and irritate the overprivileged? Is he interested in movements to promote international peace and good will? These are the kind of questions we ask in measuring a man for the liberal uniform.

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IDEOLOGICALLY, the common denominator seems to be a feeling for justice, a dissatisfaction with the status quo and a desire to change it for something more humane. That is a vague ideology. The Europeans don't use the word "liberal" much because they prefer to speak of people in terms of the particular way of life which they prefer to the status quo. Perhaps that is because the status quo in Europe is not very static. Here it is so firmly established that it is enough to be against it. Why worry about the final goal? It would take a hundred years to make any basic changes in American capitalism and by that time we will all be dead. A kind of defeatist view, but that is the way some people look at it.

In this vague sense of the word Catholics can certainly be liberals. In fact, if they are true to the teachings of their Church, they cannot be anything else. So why then speak of "Catholics and liberals"?

It may be because we on the Eastern seaboard are infected, as Colonel McCormick would say, by European modes of thought. And it is true that man, even American man, is an ideological

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animal given to precise definitions and formulas. And it is also true that there are liberals who don't fit into the popular American formula.

No one, except maybe Herbert Hoover, is worrying any more about the liberal from Manchester. He is dead. But that other liberal, the one who loves freedom so much that he fears and distrusts, and sometimes even hates, the Catholic Church, he is very much alive. In this country he reads Paul Blanshard and *The Nation* and he gets excited about free bus rides and lunches for Catholic school children. He may be anti-Communist and he may be a good Democrat or even a Republican. He has plenty of Catholic friends. He votes with them in the same party and he works with them in the same union. He likes them, but he cannot understand them. The best he can think of them is that they are blinded by their faith into confusing with Christianity a combination of superstitious mumbo-jumbo and power politics over which presides the ancient menace of "the Hierarchy." This monster he identifies with Catholicism.

He does not understand us and he does not trust us. It is important that he should, if possible. It is important that we should understand and trust him, if possible. Because the fact is that we need each other.

We are both minorities, to begin with. We are both vulnerable to attack by forces which are liberal in no sense of the word at all. Secondly, we cannot avoid each other. We cannot avoid each other in the Democratic Party. We cannot avoid each other in the trade unions. We cannot avoid each other in most of the organizations that are concerned with uplift and reform.

Wherever you look there are Catholics and there are liberals (in the American plus European sense) and either they are going to work together in peace and harmony or they are going to fight each other.

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WHAT are the obstacles that stand in the way of mutual understanding and cooperation? This article is concerned with those obstacles as they exist among liberals and are seen by Catholics. It would be easier to do the other piece, the one about the shortcomings of the Catholics. For no one who has worked in the labor movement can fail to see how unliberal (in every sense), how unChristian and how unCatholic some Catholics can be. And not just the Catholic rich. Some of the worst are found lower down in the social scale. They have the mind of Horatio Alger and the heart of a scab.

It is impossible for any kind of a liberal to work with such people without getting sick to his stomach.

"Unless you love your neighbor whom you have seen, how can you love God whom you have not seen?" There are different ways of loving our neighbor and few of us love him in every way that we should. There are liberals who love him in the mass, but not in the individual. They love man, but not men. But whatever they love, it is at least better than loving neither man nor men nor anything at all except our own miserable egos.

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AND so I think that there are liberals who are more Christian, and therefore more Catholic, than many Catholics. And I mean liberals who do not go to church, liberals who consider themselves unbelievers. Whatever they may consider themselves, it is quite possible that in the eyes of God they are members of the Invisible Church and have been baptized with the Baptism of Desire.

Why should we not hope that such liberals can look upon a Catholic with that same love with which they regard an underpaid garment worker or an exploited native in the diamond mines of South Africa? For unless we can introduce some form of love into this relationship we might as well quit. What we have to say to each other will degenerate into another argument about school buses or Franco or the extent of anti-Semitism among the clergy.

But no, you can't ask that other people love you, especially when you are not very lovable. The only thing you can do is to determine to love them whether they love you or hate you or just infuriate you with indifference and contempt. And so we too, we Catholics, we especially, must learn to look with love and patience upon the shortcomings of the liberals.

It is true that they sometimes display a monumental ignorance about the Catholic Church and the Catholic Faith, even when they are most eager to discuss and disparage these subjects at length.

In this they are different from their European brothers. The anti-clerical on the Continent at least pays the Church the compliment of knowing his subject. There it is almost impossible to find the type that is so common in America: the intellectual ignoramus who not only does not know what Catholics believe, but thinks that they believe things that they do not believe.

It is true too that the liberal often displays a devotion to slogans and intellectual fashions which he has never taken the trouble to analyze. Do you remember the days when no liberal would be caught dead with so much as an expression on his face that might be interpreted as "red-baiting"? Red-baiting was most unfashionable. But the reds were the same then, basically, as they are now. And red-baiting has become quite fashionable now, almost too much so.

Allied to this fondness for fashion in ideas is the liberal's habit of wearing a blinder on

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one side of his head so that he can look to the right but not to the left. In itself it is a kind of fashionable headgear, like the hats that women sometimes wear that slouch over one side of the face.

In the thirties and early forties it blinded the liberal to the sins of the Communist brethren while revealing the very same sins when present in the Fascist and Nazi brethren. This condition has been largely corrected, for which improvement we praise God. Now we are seeing another form of one-way vision. The liberal, who has been admirable in his quickness to detect the slightest sign of bigotry when it is directed against the Jews, has sometimes become strangely blind to the same vice when it is directed against the Catholics. But bigotry remains the same whether it be directed against Jews or Negroes or Catholics or liberals. And may the good Lord preserve us from the beast in all of its disguises.

Another thing about liberals that bothers the Catholic mind is a certain tendency toward opportunism, a certain carelessness in the choice of means. There was a young man, a Catholic, who was once an organizer for one of the unions that is dominated by a type of leadership that would certainly be "liberal" in the sense we are using.

One day the regional director and the state director came to the town where this young man was working and there was a meeting being held at the hotel, the best hotel, where the directors were staying. There were a number of the union's organizers and officials there, mostly of the same cast of thought. They were conscientious men most of them, doing what was by and large a good job. It was certainly one of the better unions in the country.

During lunch there developed a discussion of ways and means. The young man maintained that an organizer should stick to the truth. He said that lying, apart from being morally wrong, was not a sound organizing technique, that it tended to boomerang. The reaction was not flattering to the liberal mentality. The regional director, the state director and the other officials laughed at the young man and looked at him as though he were off his nut. To them it was simply unthinkable that a union organizer should deprive himself of the use of the handy little lie. Such a man, in their view, would not be doing his duty by the union.

This disease is hard to stop once it gets started. For example, there was an organizer, another liberal, who signed up a large majority of the workers in a certain shop. There was no need to lie about it. The percentage was impressive. But he could not resist making it more impressive. In serving notice on the employer he added about ten percent more. He was not a stupid man either. In fact, he was quite brilliant.

But let him who is without moral carelessness among us throw the first stone. Who can deny that every weakness we might point out in the liberal mentality is also present in the Catholic mentality? We too have our myopia, and our blinders, and our slogans, and our intellectual fashions, and our confusion of political with moral issues, and our moral lapses. Who can afford to feel self-righteous? Who can afford to feel superior?

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THERE is, however, one difficulty that must be cleared up before we can establish any kind of trust or confidence between us. And that is the liberal habit of assuming that when a Catholic is liberal (in the American sense) it is not because of his Catholicism but in spite of it. On this we must understand each other. The fact is, as was said above, that any Catholic who really believes and practices the teachings of his Church must—of necessity and by definition—be a liberal in the sense of being concerned about justice between classes and between races and between nations.

The liberal will never understand or trust his Catholic counterparts unless he understands too that most of them are devoted to the promotion of civil rights and to the concepts of political and, yes, religious freedom not because they are in revolt against the teachings of their Church, but because they believe that those teachings *demand* that men should be as free as possible from coercion and restraint. For we must always remember that it is the Church that teaches that man is free, and must remain so, and that he is not compelled even by God Himself.

This is a large subject about which men like Jacques Maritain, George Shuster and Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., have written at more and better length. But it is one that must be explored further by both Catholics and liberals if we are ever to reach a firm foundation for mutual cooperation.

There is no reason why we and the decent liberals, of whom there are many, cannot live and work together. The important thing is that we should try. The important thing is that we should seek each other out, in our unions, in our community organizations, in our political parties, in such organizations as the Americans for Democratic Action, and that we should get to know each other. For the better we know each other, the better we must like and trust each other —at least, if we are both true to the principles that inspire our several faiths.

And the sooner that happens, the sooner will there come in this land, this mysterious and lucky land of America, a society which is just and free and liberal, in the American sense, in the best sense of that much abused and belabored word.

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FROM FRANCE

A Neutral Europe?

I CAN readily imagine the pique that Americans must have felt on learning that Europeans in general, and Frenchmen in particular, greeted the first shipments of arms furnished under the Atlantic Pact without enthusiasm, and indeed with a certain sadness.

There were even popular outbreaks here and there. And it would be wrong to believe that only the Communists participated in them. Several voices of considerable authority in France—I am thinking of Etienne Gilson, Gascuel, Paul Rivet, J. J. Servan-Schreiber — recently denounced the illusion, even the dangers, of the Atlantic Pact.

Can it be that France is completely hypnotized by the anti-American propaganda of the Communist Party? Can the French people have forgotten all that America has done to help them the last few years? Certainly not. There is no ingratitude in this point of view; on the contrary. But there is, first of all, that intuitive reaction of all the Western peoples not languishing under the Soviet heel that anything is preferable to a new world war. For us Europeans, who have experienced the sufferings and the bombings of the years 1940 to 1945, there can no longer be a "fresh and joyous" war.

Moreover, war promises only the specter of universal destruction, a return to barbarism and the atomic annihilation of this planet. To speak of war, to arm oneself, is to push toward the destruction of the human race. In France there are a number of signs indicating such an attitude among the people. For instance, there are, so to speak, no more voluntary enlistments in our army. Conscientious objection is making great headway with our young people.

This reaction is based on a profound instinct. But it is also the result of the following straight reasoning: the West will not be able for a long time, in the opinion of many, to resist a Soviet attack—even with American aid. Therefore it is better to declare that Western Europe is neutral. Let us analyze the arguments which people advance to sustain this thesis:

1) *The Atlantic Union is ineffective.* In the present state of things even the American Air Force would not be able to atomize the principal centers of the USSR; and it would take the Red Army only a few days to brush aside the Western armed divisions and push to the Atlantic. A very long and arduous reconquest would be required. Once more the world would ask the Western peoples to bare their breasts to the enemy in order to delay his advance; once more Western Europe would be the field of battle. All this in the name of the defense of civilization, when it is likely that after a conflict of this sort there will no longer be a European civilization to defend.

2) *Ineffective if war breaks out, the Atlantic Union also prevents us from winning the cold war.* The military effort demanded of the Western nations is such that it paralyzes reconstruction efforts and the carrying out of a program of full employment and improved living standards. It keeps the working classes impoverished and continues to make them easy prey to the propaganda of Soviet Communism.

3) *Far from protecting us against Soviet aggression, the Atlantic Union incites the* USSR *to attack us.* All of us doubtless know the encirclement complex under which the USSR labors. The fact alone of our adhering to a pact which is visibly directed against her puts us automatically in the camp of her enemies. Whether the attack comes then from the USA or the USSR, it would be stupid for the Russians not to take over Europe, the operations base of the American Army.

4) *Finally, an argument especially telling for us Frenchmen: if we put ourselves on this road to rearmament, it will be necessary to rearm Germany sooner or later.* This is an eventuality that no Frenchman can take light-heartedly.

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IN order to prevent the inevitable annihilation of Europe in case of war, the non-Communists opposed to the Atlantic Union propose a solemn declaration of European neutrality.

It is well-known how international treaties recognize the neutrality of Switzerland, Sweden or Belgium. This neutrality was even to some extent respected by the belligerents in the last two wars. It would be a question this time of securing recognition by the United Nations of the neutrality of all the Western European nations as a group. *These neutral nations would agree not to participate in the next war unless they were attacked by one or the other of the belligerents.* They would also agree under all circumstances not to use mass-destruction weapons.

Let us note at the outset this important fact, which is often passed over in silence by detractors of the idea of neutrality—that neutrality does not mean disarmament. It was Etienne Gilson who cited in *Le Monde* the example of Switzerland, a neutral, but a nation in which military preparedness is pursued most vigorously and which is ready to defend its liberty against every aggressor. In declaring its neutrality, Europe could well continue to buy arms for purposes of its own defense.

Obviously we must have no illusions here. We well know that if Europe is not able to repulse a Soviet attack, even with American support, the Continent will be still less able to resist without it.

But many elements would be different. First, we would not put ourselves automatically in the camp of the enemies of the USSR. That would give us a slight chance of not being invaded by Soviet Russia, while we would have none if we were not neutral.

Secondly, if we are invaded and are able to put up a resistance that lasts only a few days, there is a good chance that our lands will not serve as a battlefield. There is nothing compelling the United States to fight the USSR specifically on European soil. There are num-

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erous strategists who believe that World War III will take place beyond the poles, in Oceania, but not in Europe. Whereas if from the very first moment of the conflict American forces land in Europe as allies, the Soviet counter-measures would be immediate and shattering.

But there would be one further and considerable advantage, which is psychological. We need not hide from our American friends the fact that an international conflict breaking out under present circumstances would result in the majority of the Western European nations being torn in two internally. That would not be due only to the presence and activity of the Communist Party. Many people refuse today to take part in a war to which they are opposed because the reasons for it leave doubts in their minds. So whole sectors of these nations would secede morally: civil war would threaten after the conclusion of hostilities. And everyone knows that if a war is to be well conducted it must have the undivided support of each nation as a whole.

If neutrality were to be recognized by the two adversaries, the result would clearly be different. If Russia violates our territorial integrity, she will find herself in the same position as that of Germany in 1940. The nation would be aroused against her, French unity would be reborn again. As the occupying Nazis before her, Russia would implicitly condemn the minority who consented to collaborate.

The French, Italian and Belgian proletarian worker follows the Communism of Stalin today only because propaganda has convinced him that Russia is a peaceful and progressive power and that the United States is imperialistic and animated by aggressive intentions. Russia would have only to violate French neutrality in defiance of signed treaties, for the people to see Stalinism for what it is. It was that way under the Germans, when the admiration that many Frenchmen professed for what the Nazi regime had accomplished before 1939 did not stand the test of a few months of occupation.

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OBVIOUSLY it is for men who are better qualified than I am to decide whether all this is utopian or whether it is a political hypothesis deserving serious consideration. All I have done here is to transmit to you a part of Western European opinion, but a part which threatens to become more and more influential. Actually we perceive the evident weaknesses of the Atlantic Pact day after day. And we are more inclined to use the term "utopian" in reference to *it* when we read in our newspapers, as we did a few weeks ago, a communiqué of the sort released by the military committee of the Atlantic Pact: "A plan has been approved which envisages, allowing for every possible contingency in the next five years . . . that France in particular will be charged with the responsibility of providing the bulk of the land defenses immediately on the outbreak of hostilities. . . ." When they read lines like that, however uninformed they are, people cannot help smiling wryly and asking if someone is not trying to make fun of them.

I SHOULD like simply to note here one of the weaknesses in this doctrine of neutrality that the penetrating analyst, J. J. Servan-Schreiber of *Le Monde* has pointed out. He observes that there is no point in recommending European neutrality if at the same time there is no effort in the West to build up an economic and social policy which would make Communism inoperative and without appeal for the masses. It is an obvious fact that Stalinism does not count essentially on war and external, brutal conquest to expand to the limits of this planet. Rather it looks to internal penetration and the breaking up of society by national Communist parties. It would be to no purpose either to fight Soviet Russia or to declare the neutrality of Western Europe, if we did not seek first to remove the pretext for Communism. To do this, Europe would have to be economically and politically capable of uniting and of coordinating its efforts. But for four years it has given proof to the contrary. "Europe does not seem to have either the will or the potentiality of becoming an independent federation. Therefore if one wished to isolate her, one would not be isolating a healthy branch but an aggregate of cells in an advanced state of decomposition. And we know that dead branches fall."

This severe and realistic judgment of Europe must be shared by most American strategists and political figures. The recent creation of a permanent Atlantic Council, functioning both on the economic and defense levels, seems likely to result in an organism more analogous to that of SHAEF during the last war than to an organization able to put Europe on its own feet, enabling her to achieve full employment and economic integration.

That is indeed a pity. In this divided world it is a pity that there is no corner of the earth where men can raise voices that are not those of powerful belligerents. As Europeans and as Christians we have no right to despair of doing so. And our mission to the last is to make the two giants understand the voice of reason, concord and humanity.

If it is certain that, with banners flying and under orders, we are to pass into one of the two armed camps which face each other, there will no longer be many nations in the world where such a voice can be heard.

ROBERT BARRAT.

A Footnote on Saint Augustine

THE Rev. Gerald B. Phelan, head of the Medieval Institute at the University of Notre Dame, writes that there is no solid basis for attributing the dictum *"In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas"* to Saint Augustine, as THE COMMONWEAL did in a recent editorial.

Father Phelan went through the works of Saint Augustine without finding a trace of these words. He concluded from research that the adage may be derived from the writings of a Lutheran theologian, Rupertus Meldenius and commonly attributed to Saint Augustine through a confusion caused by the similarity in names between the *Augustana Confessio* and the *Confessions of Saint Augustine.*

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A Long Engagement

IT WOULD be shameful to resist the temptation to point out that the full meaning of the Chrysler strike is to be found in the new General Motors contract. For it is clear that this historic document in industrial relations in the United States was achieved in consequence of a will to peace; while the Chrysler corporation was unwilling to search for any viable alternative to war. These two recent episodes in our industrial history stand facing each other; the one pouring the etching acid of needed criticism on the other. Some men, Horace used to say, build monuments more lasting than brass, and the GM contract could well be one of these.

The most significant thing about it is that it is the fruit of an exercise in collective bargaining. One might almost say that it reinstitutes collective bargaining in the major sectors of our industrial life. For the fact is that since VE Day most of our labor contracts have come out of strife—fact-finding boards, strikes, government intervention, even injunctions have marked and characterized our history. One-year contracts expiring in an atmosphere of mutual hostility and hatred, strikes a reality or a brooding omnipresence in the sky, not peace but an armed truce expressing our present discontents—these things were thematic of our times; the cold war played with discordant fingers in a minor key.

But here Mr. Reuther has written with General Motors a five year contract in which there is not even a reopening clause. This, so to speak, is for the duration. The nibbling away at agreements which reopening clauses always allow for, indeed provide for and invite, is here prevented. This is a long time engagement as certain and compatible as the commitment of the wills can make it.

Men reopen contracts mostly because the events they hedged against have changed their character. Men reopen contracts mostly because it has become necessary to re-negotiate the wage clauses of the agreement. Prices have changed during the life of the contract and mock at the wages of workers in consequence. What has been won, often, in wages at the collective bargaining table, has become lost in the neighborhood grocery store.

But this loss to workers has been guarded against by Mr. Reuther in the new contract by the so-called escalator clause which is being retained from the old contract. This amounts to a cost of living allowance based on the quarterly reports of the Bureau of Labor consumer price index. Thus increased prices mean increased wages. But since the contract provides a floor beneath which wages cannot fall, a sufficient decline in the cost of living means an increase of purchasing power for GM workers. What is guaranteed here is purchasing power or what economists call real wages.

But workers maintain that increases in productivity should be followed by increases in wages. And this demand is answered in the new contract. The UAW-CIO is so proud of this "annual improvement" clause that it might be well to cite the language which this great union and this large corporation used to express an idea which can lose its novelty only by being imitated:

> The annual improvement factor provided herein recognizes that a continuing improvement in the standard of living of employees depends upon technological progress, better tools, methods, processes and equipment, and a cooperative attitude on the part of all parties in such progress. It further recognizes the principle that to produce more with the same amount of human effort is a sound economic and social objective.
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> Accordingly, all employees covered by this agreement shall receive an increase of 4 cents per hour effective May 29, 1950, and an additional increase of 4 cents per hour annually on May 29, 1951, May 29, 1952, May 29, 1953, and May 29, 1954, which will be added to the base rate of each wage classification.

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THAT wages should not go on, as over the years they have, faintly racing after prices, that they should have relation not to the cost of living, but to a standard of living, this is the meaning, this is the victory contained in the clause. The price General Motors has been willing to pay for this is peace in its shops, continuing production, a competitive advantage which is clear.

Recognition of this aspect of the contract was expressed by GM's president, C. E. Wilson, when he said: "We believe that removing the fear or possibility of a strike for five years is a tremendously constructive achievement for our employees and their families, our business, our dealers, our suppliers and the general public."

General Motors is operating, as is the whole auto industry, in a seller's market, and, obviously, expects this condition to prevail for a long time. The incentive to increased productivity was part of the old contract. The corporation kept it in the new contract because it found it to be worthwhile. Taking that into consideration, it is manifest that General Motors is gambling heavily on continued prosperity. It wants no advantage lost. Experience has demonstrated to one of our leading corporations that when the proper things are in labor contracts, obedience to the contract is secured.

But it must not be forgotten that what was uppermost in the minds of the negotiators was security. It is true that the pressure on the corporation to prevent a strike was economically strong as x-rays. Nor could it easily persuade the public that it could not afford pensions. Its net profit in 1949 was $656,434,338. Such profit was made on total sales of $5,701,000,000—that is a profit of 11.5 cents on the dollar. In the first quarter of 1950 GM made more than one and a half times as much as it made in the same period of 1949.

To put it quietly, General Motors had a large invest-

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ment in peace, namely the maintenance of the highest corporate profit ever recorded. All other things being taken care of, it gave way on pensions without a struggle. The UAW broke through the $100 a month pension ceiling as a matter of fact.

Moreover, the company agreed to pay half the cost of Blue Cross and Blue Shield medical plans, not only for every GM worker but for all the members of his family as well. The family provision is an innovation in labor contracts.

And not the least of the union's gains is the modified union shop clause by which new workers automatically become members of the UAW at the end of their probationary period. As in the old maintenance of membership clauses, which were in effect during the war, these new employees may withdraw from the union after one year.

What seems to me one of the most significant parts of the agreement is that GM workers have a new stake in the advances of the corporation for which they work. The pensions, the cost of living allowances, the annual improvement factors, all these things represent a psychological investment on the part of workers. But the pattern of divided allegiance to the union and to the company—a pattern fostered in the past by General Motors by, for example, such things as prizes for essay contests—is broken, for the time being at least. Allegiance to the company is strengthened, but it runs to the company through the union whose prestige and strength and importance is greater than ever—is as great indeed, to put it quietly, as that of any union in the western world.

Arthur S. Meyer

ANY definition of old age is made ludicrous by the enforced resignation, from the New York State Mediation Board, of its chairman, Arthur S. Meyer. For the resignation, at seventy, defines Mr. Meyer as infirm. Otherwise it participates in no meaning. But no man makes more senseless our ubiquitous judgment that old age is susceptible of measurement by time.

I happen to have been for the past two years a member of the Labor Seminar at Columbia University. Of this seminar Arthur Meyer is chairman. To be in his presence, I can testify, is to be in the presence of a mind wonderfully textured and richly endowed.

It is a mind made lively with intellectual curiosity, which ranges freely, having, as it were, a roving commission among all human knowledge. It is a mind made bright by integrity, and by maturity slow to judge men save with wonder and with pity, a faculty which ought to be the possession of the priest and the historian. It is a mind which employs words with splendor and with the precision which comes from respect.

In a world which is rude, partisan and acrimonious, Arthur Meyer is a rare and distinguished man who, investing his own life with dignity and coherence, has impressed them unusually on labor relations in New York.

FRANCIS DOWNING.

The Screen

NO MATTER HOW YOU SLICE IT

STILL dripping from an all-day junket (that's what the movie companies call the excursions on which they take the critics en masse to another city for a world premiere) in New Haven, Connecticut, where Universal-International took us to see *"Winchester '73,"* I'm not exactly feeling in an uncritical mood about movies. The day was really a very pleasant one, in spite of the rain (no one around New York dares complain of rain—the water supply being what it is) and in spite of the number of hours consumed by the expedition which was interesting though exhausting. We were sumptuously wined and dined, we met Shelley Winters, one of the picture's stars, and lots of people from the Winchester Company and some big guns. At the East Haven Gun Club we were gathered to watch Herb Parsons do some of the fanciest shooting I have ever seen. I'm not sure why fruit and vegetables were used so often as targets during this exhibition, but the shooting was really thrilling, and while the amiable Mr. Parsons made oranges and potatoes pop in mid-air, he managed to deliver a few penetrating remarks about the care and proper use of firearms. And afterward we were feted again to dinner and drinks—and finally shown the movie.

The movie is something else again. No doubt when "Winchester '73" was planned it was meant to be a sort of an Odyssey of a gun. The story starts with a July 4th contest in Dodge City where James Stewart and Stephen McNally are competing for a special prize—a perfect "One of One Thousand" Winchester of the 1873 model. Jimmy wins the gun. Stephen steals it from him. A cardsharp gets it from Stephen and loses it to an Indian who is killed. The gun goes through many hands before it gets back to its rightful owner, and as it passes from person to person you are treated to a series of exciting scenes typical of western movies. You also see some stunning photography of beautiful western scenery and superior horsemanship and shooting. With the entrance of villainous Dan Duryea into the plot, the picture almost becomes a satire of its genre. Dan sneers and leers too realistically for the picture's own good. And when he runs off with Shelley Winters, who travels almost as far and wide as the Winchester '73, the film becomes a hiss-the-villain melodrama.

When the movie draws to a close after a long shooting-it-out scene between Stewart and McNally, it suddenly dawns on you that this is really a story of vengeance, one man pursues another for revenge. And strangely enough the gun takes on a symbolism in this case which would surprise even Mr. Freud. I don't think the makers of this movie intended this kind of sublimation, but what they get is a glorification of gun and killing. No doubt some of this misplaced emphasis is due to having a nice, likable guy like Jimmy Stewart as the revengeful hero.

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But in any case I wish "Winchester '73" had taken a few lessons from songs in the Annie Oakley movie: "They Say That Falling In Love Is Wonderful" and "You Can't Get a Man With a Gun."

It is unfortunate that movie-makers don't get together and consider carefully just what their films *are* saying. Producer-Director John Huston has made a new picture that is first-rate cinematically. *"The Asphalt Jungle"* has scene after scene that is a perfect example of good film-making with excellent characterization, fine acting, exceptional photography and a script that was written by Huston himself and Ben Maddow from a novel by W. R. Burnett. But one wonders as he watches this grim melodrama (about one of the biggest jewel robberies ever pulled off) just what does this movie prove? We are told during the course of the excitement that crime is only a left-handed form of human endeavor, and at the end the crime-does-not-pay message is put over through the death or capture of all the participants. Furthermore some of the police, at least the honest ones, succeed in explaining the title with statistics about criminals in every city of the modern world and with some praise for these police who prevent the criminals of the jungle from taking over.

But the main part of this expertly directed movie shows how the crooks live and operate. I don't think their lives would incite any of us to follow suit; however the events have a glamorous thrill, a veneration of violence that is too realistic. Huston gets such good performances out of Louis Calhern, Sam Jaffe, Sterling Hayden, Marc Lawrence and the large supporting cast that "The Asphalt Jungle" vibrates with unhealthy tension. Perhaps if the film had shown us how these men got that way, why they use their brains to circumvent the law, it might have some reason for being. As it now stands "The Asphalt Jungle" is an expertly made exercise in corruption and violence.

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GOING several steps farther in violence and steeped as deep in its emphasis on depravity is *"Night and the City,"* directed by Jules Dassin in London. It tries to give some reason for its vivid depiction of violence and crime, but it goes so far overboard in its visualization that there are times when one can hardly look at the screen. Based on Gerald Kersh's novel, it tells about a cheap chiseler (Richard Widmark) who keeps hoping to be somebody, but whose ideals are so confused that he always winds up running from his latest mistake. The crooks he tries to outsmart are so much smarter than he is that he hasn't a ghost of a chance. Director Dassin who knows how to make a movie exciting, starts this film on a high key and then foolishly moves to a higher key, until finally the picture falls apart from its own thrill-packed suspense. If he could have dropped brutality for a while and touched our hearts, perhaps he could have won our sympathies to his ill-fated schemer. Now our only hope is to run faster than he does—away from him and from "Night and the City."

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Of Note

Faith and Intelligence

LANCELOT SHEPPARD writes in *Unitas,* the journal of the British Newman Association (Newman International Centre, 31, Partman Square, London, W.1), of the problems of the Catholic writer; in this excerpt, of the Catholic journalist:

> It is my impression that very much that we find in our popular religious press fails in its purpose and offends in its manner. It is so very cocksure. Week after week it is right, again and again, until at last you feel—if only these people would change their tune just for once what a pleasant surprise it would be! Of course, journalists work under difficult circumstances. The speed with which they have to work is not conducive to a balanced outlook. You must be first with the news, and what was said yesterday or last week is buried forever in that limbo to which all old newspaper stunts go. So here are the makings of a conflict.
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> Cardinal Suhard, the late Archbishop of Paris, shows very well the duty of a Catholic writer in this matter. Speaking to a meeting of Catholic writers he said that the Christian must think in the light of his faith, in the way that St. Augustine suggests: *Credo ut intelligam*—I believe that I may understand the better. He continued: "And so it must be until the last day and the final state of humanity under the rule of faith in Jesus Christ. But the Christian must think, too, with all his human reason. It is enough to have an elementary notion of the faith and to examine quickly the attitude of the Church in the course of ages to see that Christianity, far from limiting human thought here below, has always been its originator and its guarantor. The Church has stood out against any tendency to reduce faith in Christ to a blind adhesion that is destructive of reason.
>
> "Just as Our Lord did not bestow on His Church the role of a theocracy in the world, dominating the temporal order, so He does not propose to us a faith which should be a sort of imperialism of thought, imposing by authority all that must be said in fields that are purely human. You must realize better than most that if there is a necessary inter-action between faith and reason, if Christ and the Church play an important part in the education and exercise of intelligence, it is no less the necessary duty of every Christian, and particularly of Christian intellectuals, to approach problems and difficulties with a greater boldness of intellect, with a freer scientific objectivity. Faith should never be a school of timidity or narrowness of spirit. If our

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Lord is the Word, it is not to hinder or suppress intellectual research and progress, but to be able from the very center of human intelligence to raise up and shed light on all its activities."

No Catholic Bloc

THE following remarks were part of an address the Rev. Laurence J. McGinley, S.J., President of Fordham University, made recently at the annual meeting of the New Jersey Club of the University Alumni Association.

I am convinced and I remain convinced that it was necessary to defend Professor Budenz as a sincere and courageous man. I do not wish to prolong that issue, however, nor do I intend my defense of the personal character of Louis Budenz to be used by anyone for partisan advantage or political profit. . . .

All will agree, though with various measures of alarm, that Communism is a most serious threat to our nation and the world. The question is, how best to fight it? The answer calls for vision and perspective. Certainly the Christian conscience, borne down by the weight of the tasks to be done—both the good things to be built up and the evils to be cured—will place the positive side of the struggle in the forefront. The unity of our people, the unification of Europe and its continued economic rehabilitation, the Marshall Plan, the Point-4 program for undeveloped countries, the United Nations, prudent measures of defense, presentation of a positive spiritual idea which will appeal to the whole world because it solves and transcends purely politico-economic problems—these are some of the things to be done.

Anything else, though it may have its place, must never overshadow such a united attitude, generous and positive. Investigations and trials may and at times must have their place in the picture. They should never obstruct the serious international ideals and work of government. Even the difficulty of China should be kept proportionate to the whole vast crisis of which it is only a part. It should be faced on the level of the crisis itself, as a national responsibility, not a partisan adventure. . . .

As far as the "political attitude" of the Catholic Church is concerned, no single man or group is entitled to speak for her. Therefore, neither do I.

She is above the political order and is non-partisan in the most spiritual sense of the word. She belongs neither to the Right nor to the Left. Neither is she conservative. The Church will always exercise the judgments of God on events and programs, so far as they touch the world of faith and morals. She is compelled only by her own program, which forces her to be interested in the common good of all nations.

The individual Catholic is free to choose in the political order and no one dictates to him. But he is not free to leave behind him the large and positive spirituality of the Christian. He should know instinctively that it is not enough to be anti-Communist. . . . Neither the cajolery of our seeming friends nor a natural antipathy for our traditional opponents must thrust us into the separatist and divisive position of a Catholic bloc. The temptation to permit this now is great. It is imperative that we resist it.

Contemporary Architecture

BARRY BYRNE writes on a creative architecture, and art for the Church in the spring *Journal of Arts and Letters* (4247 Washington Blvd., Chicago 24). This is part of his essay:

Our American civilization is built around mechanized industry and commerce. Advertising techniques are a supporting development of these, and, due to the prevalence of advertising, its extraordinary volume, it has corrupted many things including art. When I say 'corrupted,' I mean that it has suppressed the inner, more spiritual content of art and emphasized display, impact and those qualities that serve to arrest attention. With this appears a resultant *thinness* as of a surface behind which there is no content, an effective mask in place of a face in which is expressed the totality of life, joy, sorrow, achievement and failure.

This advertising influence, which is so natural to us that its menace is of an unperceived kind, produces a tendency toward *effectiveness* which we know is not a desirable quality in anything attempting to the plane of art. In contrast, it is actually a destructive thing, often vitiating the work of talented practitioners of the arts. Modern architecture, being a practical art, dependent on mechanized industry for its materials, is particularly susceptible to this taint of effectiveness. In fact it is the less good aspect in the movement to restore a vital, contemporary architecture, and it is too often demonstrated in modern design buildings.

The necessity of the dominant housing of industry, and commerce, therefore has resulted in an indifferent thing which we can call commercial modernism in architecture. This has no place in a church, and it is worthy of note because evidences of its infiltration are not lacking. There is also this to remember. The sheer matter of volume of commercial modernism, littered as it is with clichés of the so-called style, influences many towards its acceptance and use. This, I hold, is a tendency to be resisted in all architecture for we cannot have a good church architecture unless we have a good, general architecture. These two aspects of this art are not separable.

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Books

The Works of God. Giuseppe Berto. New Directions. $1.50.

THIS small volume of short stories by Giuseppe Berto, author of *The Sky Is Red,* is probably one of the finest collections to have come out of Italy recently. The original is at present unobtainable, but that the translation can stand so well by itself is a compliment to the translator and a tribute to the author. In all but the last story, "Lull At Casino," there is discernible that mood of meticulous intensity which, since the works of De Maupassant, we have come to expect from the genre.

The stories deal with the war. The war and the young. The war and the dispossessed. Stories of Partisans, of American infantrymen, of devastated farmlands. Since the soldiers are not ever the embodiment of a cause, are not "German" nor "American," there can arise among them no invective, no hatred. And as they cannot hate each other, the civilian cannot hate them. The civilian who has lost his loved ones, farmland, house, all, can only stand by and see his own life leave him, a brown floating mass of driftwood. The soldier who has obeyed the order to devastate can view his life only as chunks and splinters in dirty pools. Even those who have taken part in the most horrible war, civil war, the Fascist and the Partisan, can at the end feel only the need to die.

If all this pain could be limited, defined, if there could be an urn to gather the tears, then the suffering could have a purpose. But in these stories the pain is unrelieved and the urn cracks. All values become a numb meaninglessness, and life is reduced to a state of quiet desperation. As the author has one of his characters say, "The war has passed over us."

This pain-drenched world has been depicted by Giuseppe Berto without any crude attempt at moralizing or "realism." What he has portrayed, however, could be portrayed only by a man of great heart and compassion.

SERGE HUGHES.

Landscape Painting. Kenneth Clark. Scribners. $5.00.

THE beauty of God, Aquinas states, is the cause of the being of all that is. This is a theme Sir Kenneth Clark, long Director of the National Gallery in London, clearly illustrates and amplifies.

"Facts become art through love, which unifies them, and lifts them to a higher plane of reality, and, in landscape, this all-embracing love is expressed by light," Sir Kenneth writes. His study of man's relation to nature, reflected through the centuries in the history of landscape painting, considers in detail four ways in which man has attempted to convert the complexity of natural appearances into the unity of an idea. He shows both

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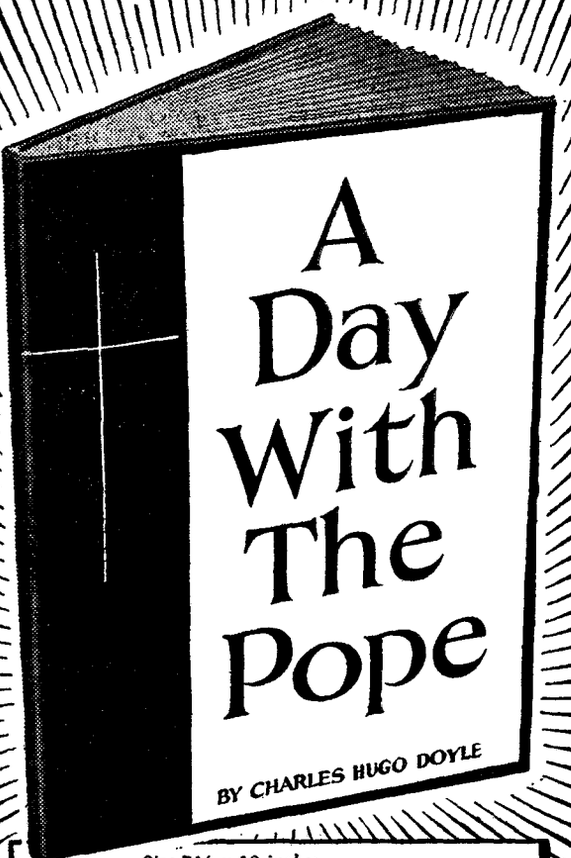

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the simultaneity, and the sequence of these four modes, from neo-classical times to our own: the acceptance of descriptive symbols, curiosity about facts, the creation of fantasy as an escape from fears, and a belief in what W. H. Auden would call a "pre-lapidarian order," all of which are as implicit in a French sixteenth century tapestry of the lady with a unicorn, as in the douanier Rousseau's landscape with monkeys.

As a pilgrim's progress this is a most satisfactory book, for Sir Kenneth follows light, the hero of every picture, as it illuminates the visible world, down the centuries from a hellenistic fresco illustrative of the Odyssey, to an underwater abstraction by Underhill. There are 115 admirable illustrations.

BEGINNING with the time when the horrors of Grendal's Mere were depicted by Beowulf, Sir Kenneth shows symbolism instead of clouding vision, rather provided it with an "unusual intensity" which gave the earliest naturalism of the Middle Ages a unique beauty. But he goes on to add "... the leaves, flowers and tendrils, which in the later twelfth century, break through the frozen crust of monastic fear, have the clarity of newly-created things. Their very literalness and lack of selection is a proof that they have been seen for the first time." Fie, fie, Sir Kenneth! Surely Saint Bernard, hiding from his eyes the beauty of the Alps, lest he love them too much; surely the continual, abiding tenderness between beasts and saints, so exquisitely shown by Helen Waddell; surely the delight in flowers and in natural beauty, which placed an image of Our Lord or Our Lady wherever in all Europe there was a lovely view, so that creature and Creator might share in the "very good" He made, are evidences of something else than a "frosty crust of fear"? When darkened Europe was Hun-ridden, anarchic, the loveliness of her landscapes still glowed serenely from the margins of monastic manuscripts.

Sir Kenneth finally arrives at the ideal landscape, at Giorgione, and at Claude. But the nineteenth century is beckoning, and the classical must grow less. As he turns to English painting, Sir Kennth points out that "the idea that an appreciation of nature can be combined with a desire for intellectual order has never been acceptable in England;" indeed, even to enjoy the ordered landscape of cypress and stone pine has, from earliest days, been suspect. "An Englishman Italianate, is a devil incarnate," though said in the fifteenth century, was as true when Ruskin wrote.

How integrally the artist creates nature, and how integrally art creates life, and fiction, fact, as Oscar Wilde insisted, is shown by Constable and Turner. "I never saw an ugly thing in my life," Constable said, and in his great landscapes of the Stour, as in Wordsworth's poems, "The passions of men are incorporated with the beautiful and permanent forms of nature."

With Van Gogh and Cezanne, the ages of faith ended. For "landscape painting, like all forms of art, was an act of faith, and, in the nineteenth century, when the more orthodox and systematic beliefs were declining, faith in nature became a form of religion." It is, indeed, the average religion of the Englishman of yesterday.

Now we are once more in the grip of milennial fears. Can we escape from them by creating once again the image of an enclosed garden? Sir Kenneth replies emphatically, No. "The artist may escape from battles and plagues, he cannot escape from an idea. The enclosed garden of the fifteenth century was based on the idea that nature was friendly. Science has taught us that nature is the reverse." And by fear we can only destroy.

ANNE FREMANTLE.

Leaves from a Russian Diary. Pitirim A. Sorokin. Beacon Press. $3.50.

THIS is a reprint, re-edited and enlarged, of a book first published in 1924. Today, this retrospective view of the Russian Revolution is substantiated by Professor Sorokin's preface and by his concluding essay, "Thirty Years After." The story told by Mr. Sorokin in his book is not merely the testimony of a direct eyewitness; it is the story of a man who held important offices under the short-lived democratic Provisional Government, which was overthrown by the Bolshevik October *coup d'état*. Thus, Pitirim Sorokin's tragic experience recalls the assassination of Russia's freedom, whose brief span of life ended with the forced closing of the Constituent Assembly. The majority of Russian votes for the Constituent Assembly was non-Communist.

This dramatic convention, liquidated by Lenin, belongs to almost forgotten pages of the history of the Russian Revolution. Sorokin's account of what he saw and experienced as a man engaged in political struggle, is carefully checked and analyzed by Sorokin the scholar and sociologist, the thinker and the historian. The author is an expert in these various fields, and especially is a sociologist of great repute. He is the founder of the Sociology Department at Harvard (having previously founded a similar department at the University of Petrograd.) Today, Sorokin is the director of the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism and Integration. Sorokin's description of the Russian revolutions (the "February" democratic one, and Lenin's rise to power) is vivid, direct and instructive. However, since the first edition of *Leaves From A Russian Diary,* a great deal of material has appeared concerning the history, sources, political and psychological background, ideology and practice of the Russian revolutions (both "February" and "October"). This material includes Trotsky's monumental work on the one hand, and on the other the numerous memoirs of emigré political leaders—mostly Sorokin's own colleagues and contemporaries—not to speak of the more recent writings of disillusioned Communists, from Kravchenko to Petrov.

Perhaps a book, however interesting and informative it is, should not be republished, even revised and enlarged,

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more than two decades after its original edition. I rather wish that Sorokin's new concluding essay, "Thirty Years After," filled more than thirty pages. In this essay the author expresses a few striking ideas. He tells us that the Russian Revolution is at the same time "a gigantic success," inasmuch as it fulfils the "role of gravedigger" for a "disintegrating," "sensate," "secular" and "materialist" order in the West, and a "colossal failure," since it has produced no cultural values. Russian Communism has extended its death-inflicting control to all the fields of culture in which Russia could previously take legitimate pride: philosophy, poetry, music, literature, the drama—all these have been strangled in Soviet Russia.

In spite of this gloomy view, Sorokin is by no means a pessimist. He firmly believes in "the basic reintegration of our culture," which can be achieved through "the technique of love instead of hate, of creative construction, rather than destruction, of reverence for life in place of serving death, of real freedom instead of coercion and pseudo-freedom." This is the cornerstone "for the rebuilding of humanity."

HELENE ISWOLSKY.

The Autobiography of Robert A. Millikan. Prentice Hall. $4.50.

ANY good autobiography is the story of a man, and also the story of a period. Robert A. Millikan, born in 1868, takes his story from his earliest years up to the present, from the Mississippi Valley in the Mark Twain period to the atomic age. There is plenty of description of his scientific work in physics, for which he won the Nobel Prize, in terms easily to be understood by the general reader. Millikan is best known for a beautiful experiment in which a tiny droplet of oil was balanced between gravity and electrostatic attraction, and then watched while it picked up or discharged electrons. The reader will realize what a quantity of hard and at times humdrum work lies behind one brilliantly successful experiment. Millikan describes also the development of science in America, and his part in the formation of the National Research Council, and in researches that helped to defeat the submarine menace in World War I.

Millikan was early in favor of American intervention in World War I, and was a strong League of Nations man. Politically, he sees "one of the biggest dangers which confronts America today in the efforts to solve all our ills by an appeal to Washington." To many readers perhaps the most interesting part of the book will be the last chapter, "The Two Supreme Elements in Human Progress": they are the *spirit* of religion and the *spirit* of science. This chapter gives the very respectable conclusions, in natural theology, to which this eminent scientist came. On the whole, an interesting, dull book, if I may so express myself.

ANTHONY STANDEN.

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The Circle of the Day. Helen Howe. Simon & Schuster. $3.00.

THIS is the story of a woman who comes to know herself. Within this framework there is also a political parallel—that love without selfishness is the only way to lasting peace. This is a laudable idea, and as an idea achieves a kind of success. It unfortunately proves too much for a book whose main charm is its observation of women in their less politically-significant moments.

Faith Millet discovers one morning that her husband has an illegitimate child. This is the catalyst that sends her off on a remarkably full day during which she meets the past, has a slight skirmish with the political future (in the form of a disillusioned and somewhat suspect ex-Red) and manages to dramatize herself and her plight to all concerned. At the end of the day, tired but resourceful, she sees herself, in an unexpected revelation, as a self-centered woman. This revelation is applied to all people, and we are shown that only through love and understanding can there ever be peace.

The book can be taken as a political allegory, but it seems that this idea behind the novel is a mold into which the plot is forced. As we are introduced to each new character, we are given a thumbnail description and biography, and the characters act without real motives save the furthering of the plot.

As the book progresses, it improves. The self-conscious mimicking of sophisticated twaddle is left behind, and Faith begins to take on a kind of reality, particularly when she looks back on her loneliness in New York. Here Miss Howe demonstrates her real talent, that of a keen insight into a woman's life, as she observes: "any woman alone in the evening in New York carries her loneliness, her unwantedness about her like a great parcel, with nowhere to put it down, nowhere to conceal it."

JOAN M. RICE.

• REVIEWERS •

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HELENE ISWOLSKY is chairman of the Russian Department at Fordham, and the author of *Life of Bakunin,* a study of the sources of the Russian revolutionary movement, *Soviet Man Now,* and *Soul of Russia.*

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JOAN M. RICE is a student at Radcliffe.

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